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Pallankövil is a small village in the Tañjāvūr district of the Madras State, about four miles from Tirutturaipūṇḍi, a Railway Junction and taluk headquarter station, by the side of the bus-route from that station to Mannārgudi. Two copper-plate grants were unearthed in that village nearly twenty-five years ago while reducing a mound or high level ground (*mēdu*) for converting the area as cultivable land. The other particulars about the discovery are not known. It is not also known whether any other object was found along with these plates. After passing through some hands, these plates are now in possession of the well-known publisher of *Tamil-Ilakkiya-Śelvam*, cheap and critical editions of the Tamil classics, Śrī S. Rajam of Messrs. Murray & Co., Madras.

## Grant of Pallava Simhavarman

The set consists of five sheets of copper strung in a ring of the same metal through a hole in the left side of the plate in the middle. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal, (Fig. 1) having the embossed emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right flanked with a lamp on either side. There is at the top an umbrella wth a fly-whisk (*chauri*) on either side. Below these are seen in a row, commencing above the head of the bull, the figures of a pot (*kalaśa* or *pūrṇa-kumbha*), a drum (*mṛidaṅga*), a stool (*āsana*), an elephant goad (?) (*aṅkuśa*) and śrivatsa. Above the back of the bull there is a crescent and a star (*chandra-tāraka*)<sup>1</sup> and below the bull a wavy line. One line

\* Paper read at the meeting of the Society held on 28-2-1958.

1. Very likely these represent the moon and the sun (*chandrārkka*). While editing the *Kūram* plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Dr. Hultzsch, in describing the seal of that grant, takes these as 'a moon and a liṅga' (S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 144). Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri P. Seshadri Sastri, who edited the Vunna Guruvapalem plates of the same king, also took them likewise (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 91). These are referred to further on in this paper.

of writing runs round these figures near the edge of the seal, counter-clockwise, beginning near the face of the bull and reads *Srī Simhavarmanah - pātra - skhalita-vṛittinām - sāstramā-[nasām]*, meaning, ‘of Simhavarma (belonging to the family of) of those that flowed out of the vessel and whose minds dwelt in the *sāstras*’, thus mentioning the name of the monarch in whose reign the grant was issued. The writing occupies only about three-fourths of the line. The other fourth is filled-up with horizontal strokes and circles.

The outer faces of the first and the last plates of the set are left blank while the three middle plates are written on both the sides. Thus the record contains eight pages of writing beginning with the inner side of the first plate and ending with the inner side of the fifth and last plate. Each inscribed side of the plate contains eight lines of writing, thus having a total of sixty-four lines. It is usual to find the rims of the plates slightly raised serving as a protection to the writing thereon. But these do not have such protection and as such the rims are slightly corroded. Still the writing is not damaged and is in a good state of preservation.

The first sheet is broken into two, the left half remaining with the set strung in the ring through the hole, and the right half being entirely lost. As such, only the beginnings of the first eight lines are available.

As is usual with the copper-plate grants of the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas found in the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts, the first one in Sanskrit, composed in verse, written in the Grantha script and running for twenty-six lines, and the second consisting of thirty-eight lines in Tamil prose, written in the Tamil script. Each part is complete in itself, though complementary to one another.

The immediate object of the grant is to register the gift of landed property to the Jaina religious teacher Vajra-Nandi at Paruttikkunril to meet the expenses of worship.

The inscription does not have the auspicious expression *Svasti* (*Srī* (meaning ‘Let there be prosperity’, usually translated as ‘Hail Prosperity!') at the beginning of either of the parts as is usually found in all the other records found in this part of the country. Nonetheless, it has an auspicious beginning in both the parts,

The Sanskrit portion begins with the expression *Svarggāpavargga*. The same opening, in its Prākṛit form *Svaggāpavagga* occurs in the Ghaṭayāla inscription<sup>2</sup> of Kakkuka, which also is a Jaina record. The Tamil portion simply begins with the honorific word *Kō vijaya* meaning ‘victorious king’.

The record opens with an introductory verse praising the groups of Jinēndras, Munīndras and Dēvēndras. Then follows evidently the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas usually found in the other grants. But owing to the fragmentary nature of this portion, only the names of Ambujanābha (Vishṇu), Girvānē[śa] (i.e. Brahma, the lord of Girvāṇi or Sarasvati), [Śam]yu, Bharadvāja, Drōṇa and Pallava are available. In this family of the Pallavas was born Simhavarman at whose feet many kings bowed and to whom was born Simhvishṇu. The latter is said to have conquered another Simhvishṇu (jita Simhvishṇu)<sup>3</sup> and won many battles. He also conquered the land of the Cholas (*Chōlāvanī*), having as its girdle groves of areca-palms, and sugar-cane, rice-fields and plantain cultivation, and having the daughter of Kavēra (*Kavēratanayā*), i.e., the river Kāvēri as its garland. The king gave away the village called Śramaṇāśrama (the hermitage of the Śramaṇas) to the great ascetic Vajra-Nandi of the Nandisamgha at the holy place of the auspicious lord Vardhamāna for the purpose of worshipping the groups of Jinēndras and Munīndras.

The executor (*ājñapti*) was the minister Narabhaya who was however fearless and the protector (*abhaya*); and the composer of the *prāśasti* was Mēdhāvī, well read in all the śāstras and who was like Brihaspati in intelligence.

The Tamil portion says that the king *Vijaya Simhavarman* gifted in the sixth year of his reign the village of Amaṇśērkkai included in the Perunagara-nādu, a sub-division of Venkunṭa-kōṭṭam as a *pallichchandam*, after removing the (existing) tenants, to the religious teacher (*Kuravar*) Vajra-Nandi of Paruttikunṭil. The details of the boundaries of the gift-villages are then given. The inscription also registers the gift of another sixteen and a half *pattis* of land in the village Tāmar as *pallichchandam* to the same teacher Vajra-Nandi. Narabhaya is named as the executor

## 2. J.R.A.S.

3. Alternately, the expression may be taken as comparing him to god Narasimhvishṇu, not only in name, but also in valour and prowess.

(āṇatti). Finally it closes with an ornate symbol containing the Grantha letter *si* which evidently stands for the auspicious word *siddham*.

The only king known to us bearing the name of Simhavishnu among the Pallavas is the father of Mahēndravarman the author of the several rock-cut shrines in the Tamil country. The Vēlūrpālayam plates<sup>4</sup> of Pallava Nandivarman III while narrating the genealogy of the donor has the following verse.

(Verse 10). "Then from the king named Simhavarman, who wiped off the pride of (his) enemies, was born the victorious Simhavishnu whose prowess was widely known on earth. He quickly seized the country of the Chōlas, embellished by the daughter of Kavīra (i.e. the river Kāvēri), whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca (palms)."

This is exactly the description of the donor and his son given in these plates.

The period of rule of Mahēndravarman I is generally placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. His son Narasimhavarman I was the adversary of the Western Chālukya ruler, Pulikēśi, whom he defeated in battle and captured his capital Vātāpi. This event took place in *circa* 642 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and his inscription at Vātāpi commemorating this victory is dated in his thirteenth regnal year.<sup>6</sup> As such the reign of Narasimhavarman I should have commenced in *circa* 630 A.D. His father Mahēndravarman I, it may be judged, on a consideration of the large number of rock-cut temples excavated by him and their architectural development, and also of the cultural renaissance which took place in his days, had evidently a long reign, probably over fifty years. We may not therefore be wrong if we take *circa* 575-630 A.D. as the period of his reign. Then the reign of Simhavishnu has to be assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century (550-575) A.D., and that of Simhavarman, in whose sixth regnal year the present grant was issued, still earlier. Thus the date of this grant will fall in the second quarter of the sixth century and even allowing for some variations in the lengths of reign of these monarchs,

4. S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 510.

5. S.I.I., Vol. XI, *Introduction*, p. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 1.

it may safely be taken as *circa* 550 A.D. in round figure. This is also supported by palaeography.

The earliest inscription so far discovered in the Tamil country, with the exception of the Brāhmī labels in the natural caverns and on the Arikamēdu graffiti and the Tirunātharkunru epitaph, belongs to the time of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, and no inscription either on stone or on copper assignable to a period earlier than that time has yet been recovered. Thus this record becomes the earliest inscription so far obtained in the Tamil country.

The palaeography of this grant, of both the Grantha and the Tamil scripts, deserves special and detailed study. Each letter has at its top a small triangle with its apex downwards. Inscriptions written in the script having such triangles at the top of the letter have been found in other parts also. Letters having these triangle are classified as belonging to the 'Nail-headed' variety of script. Inscriptions written in this script are very rare; e.g. the Poona plates<sup>7</sup> of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatī Guptā, the Majhgawān plates<sup>8</sup> of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, the Pāṇḍarāṅgapalli plates<sup>9</sup> of Avidhēya, Bamhani plates<sup>10</sup> of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala. All these are from the Deccan and Central India. The recently discovered copper-plate record<sup>11</sup> of Vyāgrarāja, younger brother of Pravarabhaṭṭāraka, king of Śarabhapura from Mallar, in the Bilaspur district of the Madhya Pradesh, also is written in this variety. This 'nail-headed' variety is only a modified form of the 'Box-headed' type. Some of the records, e.g., the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-Guptā, mentioned above, exhibit both these varieties. There are two kinds in the 'box-head': 'true-box' and 'false-box'. The true-box is formed 'by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them'.<sup>12</sup> The 'false-box' is more simple: the sculptor or engraver has removed a sufficiently large square surface at the head of each letter. Both these two types are found in 'nail-headed' variety also. The present grant is the

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 106 ff., plate XIV.

9. *My. Arch. Report*, 1929, plate XIX facing page 196.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff.

11. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958–59, page 60, plates LXIX and LXX.

12. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18.

first one to be recovered from the Tamil country written in the nail-headed type, both in the Grantha and the Tamil scripts. It exhibits both the 'true' and 'false' types; many of the triangles at the top of each letter, being scooped out in full; while in some others the block of metal within the triangle has been left intact. Considering that the majority of the triangle are scooped out, we may treat this as belonging to the 'false' type. This type of 'false' nail-head is also found in some of the copper-plate grants in the Deccan, e.g. the Pherava grant<sup>13</sup> of Sāmantavarman, king of Kalinga in the Gaṅga year 185. The Dadhimatī-mātā inscription<sup>14</sup> from Marwar dated in the Gupta Samvat 289, corresponding to A.D. 608, is written in the 'false' nail-head having the triangle fully scooped out. Faint traces of this nail-head are also seen in some of the later inscriptions of the Pallavas, such as those found in the Dharmarāja ratha at Mahabalipuram.<sup>15</sup> It may also be noticed in this connection that the letters in the Kaśākkudi plates<sup>16</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, both in the Grantha and Tamil scripts, have at their tops, lines slanting on either side, forming an inverted triangle without the base.

Both the Grantha and the Tamil scripts of this record closely resemble those of the Kūram plates<sup>17</sup> of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I issued in the second half of the 7th century A.D.; but exhibit more archaic forms for some individual letters like *sha* (lines 10, 11) and *ṇa* (lines 9, 24) in the Grantha script, and *ṇa* (lines 39, 52) and *ṛu* (lines 33, 59) in the Tamil script. At the same time the present record has some letters especially in the Tamil script having forms more developed than those found in the Kūram plates. The letter *va*, which is open at the top in the present record, while it appears closed in the Kūram grant, and the symbol for the medial *ai* of the letters *lai* and *nai* of the present inscription may be cited as examples of such advanced forms. But it should be noted that these developed forms though not found in the Kūram plates are found in other inscriptions of the period. The letter *va*, with the open top, looking more or less like *pa*, which form is much more developed than that of the

13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 299 ff.

15. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 5 ff.

16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

17. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. for text; plates in *ibid.*, Vol. II; also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.

present record, is found in the *Tirukkalukkunram* inscription<sup>18</sup> of Narasimhavarman I as also in the *Kuldikki* inscription<sup>19</sup> of Nandivarman II. Again the letter having the same form as found in this grant is seen in the stone inscription<sup>20</sup> of Paramēśvaravarman II at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot district. Similarly, the alternate symbol for the medial vowel *ai* as in the form of the letter *lai* in line 38 and in the letter *nai* in line 50 is found in the Tiruvadi stone inscription above mentioned. It is also to be noted that the symbol for the medial vowel *ū* long, as in the letters *ṇū*, in line 13 and *pū* in line 22 in the Grantha script of this grant, closely resembles that of the Kūram grant. But the *Panamalai* inscription<sup>21</sup> of Rājasimha and the *Kaśakkudi*<sup>22</sup> and *Pattattalmaṅgalam* plates<sup>23</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla have advanced forms.

In consideration of the above and relying on the archaic forms exhibited in the letters *sha*, *ṇa*, *ru*, etc., we may safely assign the present record to a period earlier than that of the Kūram grant.

But it should be admitted that the scripts, both the Grantha and the Tamil, employed in writing this record are quite different (and appear much more developed) from the scripts used in writing the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I and his son Narasimhavarman I, the victor of Vātāpi, found in the several rock-cut temples of the Tondaimandalam. For a better understanding of this problem, it is necessary to study them comparatively.

We have already noticed that inscriptions both in the Grantha and Tamil scripts are available in the Tamil country regularly from the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman I. The earliest inscriptions in the Grantha script on stone are those of Mahēndravarman I on the several rock-cut temples excavated by him while

18. *A.R.E.*, for 1932-33, p. 55, text and also plate.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.

20. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 331 for text. Impression has not been published. But specimens have been given by me in my *Pandai-Tamil Eluttukkal*, (Madras-1938), plate 4, Col. III. English version as *Tamil Palaeography in the South Indian Temple Inscriptions* Vol. III. part II (*Madras Government Oriental Series*, No. CLVII), pp. 1540-1.

21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 213. *A. R. E.* 1916.

22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 120 ff.

that on copper is the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I. It may also be mentioned that in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman, two varieties of the Grantha, one in the ordinary type and the other in the florid or highly ornamental type, are found. So far as the Tamil script is concerned, we have two inscriptions of Mahēndravarman, one at Vallam<sup>24</sup> and the other at Daļavānūr<sup>25</sup> and one inscription of his son Narasimhavarman, the victor of Vātāpi, at Tirukkalukkunram<sup>26</sup> all the three being one stone, and earlier than the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I on copper referred to above, which also contains a Tamil portion. A perusal of the scripts employed in these records reveals some interesting facts.

Taking up the study of the Grantha script first, leaving out the ornate variety from consideration, we find that even in the ordinary type two varieties of the script are found. The inscriptions of Pallava Mahēndravarman represent both the ordinary and ornate varieties of script used in his time. The ordinary forms are found in the inscriptions at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu,<sup>27</sup> Mahēndravādi,<sup>28</sup> Śiyamaṅgalam<sup>29</sup> and Daļavānūr,<sup>30</sup> while the ornamental type is found in the inscription of the Tiruchirāppalli rock-cut temple,<sup>31</sup> the forms of the letters used in the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I<sup>32</sup> are interesting.

We know that Mahēndravarman I reigned in the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh centuries A.D. (*circa* 575-630) and that the Kūram grant was issued by Paramēśvaravarman I in *circa* 675 A.D. Thus the difference in time between these two is only about fifty years.

A comparison of these letters will show that the forms of letters in the Kūram plates are much more developed and they could not have been evolved from the forms used in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I in this short period of fifty years.

24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 341.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 225.

26. *A.R.E.*, 1932-33, p. 55.

27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI.

30. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII.

31. *S.I.I.*, text in Vol. I and plate in Vol. II.

32. *S.I.I.*, text in Vol. I and plate in Vol. II; also *E.I.*, XVII,

These rather appear to belong to an entirely different variety, though both of them are related. This impression is strengthened by the forms of the vowel *e* and the consonants *ja*, *na*, *ba*, *bha*, *śa* and *ea*.

But it is also to be noted that some of the forms found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman are found used even later than the time of the Kūram plates, more especially in the Kaśāk-kudi plates<sup>33</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

Particularly we find the shell shaped form of the vowel *e*, the letter *na* in the form of two horse-shoes placed side by side and joined at the bottom, *śa* without the loop, but with a cross-bar at the right as also the letter *sa* without the hook at the left.

The shell-shaped form for the vowel *e* is also found in the music inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same in the *Ep. Ind.*<sup>34</sup> observes: "The characters seem to belong to the 7th century. They clearly resemble those of the early Chālukya period. In particular, it may be noted that the letter *e*, as in Pallava inscriptions of this period, is almost identical with *ba*."<sup>35</sup> There is also one other Chālukyan resemblance in the inscription not referred to by him. The letter *na* is written with a loop at the bottom; only it is not so pronounced. This peculiarity is also noticed in some of the Pallava inscriptions of the ornate variety, e.g. the Panamalai inscription of Rājasimha. The usual form for *na* in the Pallava records is a vertical line with a semi-circle facing down to its right at the bottom. It is this form we notice in the short label<sup>36</sup> *namōstu* at Tiruchirāppalli assignable to the 5th century A.D. But in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman this is nowhere found. Sometimes the vertical line is found at the apex of the curve or otherwise the vertical line is slanting to the left with another arm standing to right at the bottom instead of a semi-circle.

The difference in the doubling of the vertical lines of *ka* and *ra* between the scripts of Mahēndravarman's record and the

33. S.I.I., Vol. II.

34. Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 227.

35. Dr. C. Minakshi writes: "I fail to see why Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the characters are Chalukyan" (*Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 245. fn. 30). But the discussion here will show that Dr. Bhandarkar was right.

36. A. R. E., No. 132 of 1937-38.

Kūram grant has to be noted. In the former the doubling is only for the lower half just as in the Telugu-Kannada scripts while it is for the entire letter in the Kūram grant. In the Telugu-Kannada script the doubling of the vertical line was not completed, but joined later on to the vertical at the middle itself. Similarity of the letters in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman to those of the Telugu-Kannada script of the period is more pronounced in the letter *a*. The Kūram form could not have been derived from the other. The form of the vowel *A* in the label<sup>37</sup> *amithadōsam* at Tiruchirāppallī is very much like that of the Kūram grant with the vertical stroke almost doubled.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the symbols for the Tamil letters *ra* and *la* found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman at Tiruchirāppallī are those of the Telugu-Kannada script and not Tamil. It is usual in the inscriptions of the Tamil country to employ the Tamil characters for writing these two letters wherever they occur in the Sanskrit portion of the grant written in the Grantha script. Even in the Vilāvat̄ti grant<sup>38</sup> of the Early Pallava ruler Simhavarman the place name of Vilāvat̄ti is written with the Tamil character for *la*. Thus the use of the Telugu-Kannada script for these two letters in the Tiruchirāppallī inscriptions of Mahēndravarman is peculiar and can be explained only by taking that the script of his records is Telugu-Kannada and not the Grantha of the Tamil country as seen in the Kūram grant.

The study of the early Tamil records also does not reveal a different tale. Of the two Tamil inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I at Vallam and Dałavānūr, the latter is considered as not belonging to the time of Mahēndravarman, and palaeographically late.<sup>39</sup> The Tamil verse incised on one of the pillars in the inner verandah is a translation of the Sanskrit verse incised on the face of the cave-temple. The very fact that the Tamil record is a translation of the Sanskrit record would suggest that both of them belong to the same period. If the Tamil record has been really incised some two centuries later than the Sanskrit record, then it would not have been the translation of a Sanskrit verse

37. A. R. E., No. 137 of 1937-38.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 296 ff.

39. Dr. Hultzsch who edited this record in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 225, simply says that it should be later, while V. Venkatasubba Ayyar in the S.I.I. (Texts) Vol. XII, No. 11 assigns this Tamil record to the 9th century A.D.

composed and written on the temple some two centuries earlier, but a new composition. We cannot also cite a similar example from anywhere else in the country. The later date has been assigned to the Tamil record for the only reason that the script employed in writing that record did not conform to the script of the Vallam record. But we do not have very many records of the early period for comparison. And this would not be anachronistic if the script of this inscription is compared with that of the Tirukkalukkunram record of his son Narasimhavarman, the victor of Vātāpi. Even for the sake of argument, if the Dałavānūr record is left out of consideration, the script employed in the Tirukkalukkunram stone record and the Kūram grant are highly developed than that of the Vallam record. This becomes very clear and pronounced in the letters *a*, *va*, *na*, *tu*, etc. The letter *va* which is found bulbous like a pear or apple fruit at Vallam is of the open type very much like the modern form (and with very little difference to the form of *pa*). The closed type of Vallam is found to have continued even upto the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as this form is found in his Kaśakkudi and the recently found Pullūr plates.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the form of the letter *na* of the Tirukkalukkunram record resembles that of the Kūram record, in the Grantha as well as the Tamil script, while that of the Vallam record closely resembles that of the Telugu-Kannada type used in the other Sanskrit inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I. The letter *a* in the Tamil portion of the Kūram grant resembles the same in the Grantha portion, the only difference being that the vertical stroke is single and not doubled. The symbol for the medial vowel *ū* in the letter *tū* of the Vallam record is in the form of a semi-circle opening upwards, added to the bottom of the letter. But in the other records, the form of the letter has reached almost the modern shape. This form found in the Dałavānūr inscription was probably the factor that influenced the editor to assign a later date to that record.

Thus it will be seen that the script of the Vallam Tamil inscription closely follows the Telugu-Kannada type of the Grantha, while the script of the Dałavānūr Tamil inscription as well as that of the Tirukkalukkunram inscription and the Kūram plates follows the Grantha variety developed in the Tamil coun-

40. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam who is editing this record for the *Ep. Ind.* kindly allowed me to peruse the ink-impression of the record.

try. The fact that Telugu forms even in the language, e.g. *Mayēndirappōttareśaru-adiyāñ* (line 3) and *Vayandappiri-areśarumagan* (line 4) occur in the Vallam record will go a long way in support of the above view.

It will thus be seen that in the early inscriptions of the Pallavas in the Tamil country in the 7th century A.D. two varieties of script, one more or less Telugu-Kannada in origin and the other the Grantha, developed in the Tamil country, were in use for writing the Sanskrit. The independent evolution traced in some of the typical letters in the Grantha script, which form has continued to this day in the Tamil country, would suggest that it was developed in this part of the country. The Telugu-Kannada script which is found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman appears to have continued for sometime, till the time of Pallavamalla, and that too mostly for writing the ornate script, after which it appears to have disappeared or become merged in the Grantha variety. The presence of the Telugu-Kannada script in the Tamil country at that early period as distinct and in addition to the Grantha script needs an explanation. It is well known that Mahēndravarman introduced many innovations in the Tamil country, among which the excavation of rock-cut temples stands out pre-eminent. Some of his titles like *Kūrrambu*, *Nilvule Neyambu*, *piśirambu*, etc., clearly betray Telugu influence. The Telugu-Kannada script was also probably introduced by him in the Tamil country. (But this had to disappear later).

It will thus be not proper, but futile, to compare palaeographically the scripts both the Grantha and the Tamil of the present record as also of the Kūram plates, with those of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I and his immediate successors which are in the Telugu-Kannada script or strongly influenced by that script. As already pointed out, this record is paleographically earlier than the Kūram plates and the date *circa* 550 A.D. assigned to the same is thus supported.

Another possible objection which can be raised against the assigning of such an early date to this grant is the mention in the record of the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas. It is generally considered<sup>41</sup> that such genealogies containing the names

41. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Part II, p. 342.

of puranic celebrities as ancestors are late inventions in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. But we find such genealogies even in the earlier grants. In this connection, a verse occurring in a stone inscription dated Saka 797 or A.D. 875 of King Indravarman of Champa from Dong Duong, a village about 12 miles from Mi-son in the province of Quang-Nam in Annam State of the Indo-China<sup>42</sup> is worth consideration.

Kvachid-api Valabhij-jō Brahma-jō Vishṇujaścha  
 Kvachid-api Bhujag-ēndraś-Śaṅkaraś-cha kvachid vā |  
 Kvachid-api Ravi-Chandrō-’Pāmpatir-Vahni-rūpah  
 Kvachid—Abhayada bimbas satva-mōkshād babhūva ||

(verse 7—of face B)

"In some places those born of Indra, Brahma and Vishṇu, in some places of the Kings of Serpents, in some places Śaṅkara (or Śiva), in some places ascetics (ṛishis), sun, moon, Varuṇa and Agni (Fire), and in some places image of Abhayada (Buddha) appeared for the deliverance of creatures".

It will be clear from the above that various types of mythical genealogies of different royal families, each claiming direct descent from some illustrious person of purānic fame, had been fully evolved and not only well established but also firmly believed as a fact by that time even in those far off lands removed by thousands of miles by land and sea from India. So far as the Pallavas are concerned, this mythical genealogy is found mentioned even in the Kūram plates<sup>43</sup> of Paramēśvaravarman I, the earliest of the copper-plate grants hitherto recovered in the Tamil country. Again, this is mentioned in the inscriptions of his son and successor Narasimhavarman II surnamed Rājasimha, at Panamalai,<sup>44</sup> in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram,<sup>45</sup> and on the pillar in the temple at Vāyalur.<sup>46</sup> Inscriptions earlier than

42. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient, Tome IV*; also *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I Champa by R. C. Majumdar, Book III, The inscriptions of Champa No. 31. The previous editors do not appear to have correctly understood the import of this verse. At least it can be said so of Dr. Majumdar as he adds in a foot note "The letter *ja* at the end of Brahma, Vishṇu and Valabhit would mean their sons, but that does not seem to be the sense" (p. 86).

43. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144 ff.

44. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 113-114.

45. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I.

46. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 150-151.

the above have not been recovered as yet. As such we cannot say when the mythical genealogy was framed. The present copper-plate grant is only about a century earlier than the Kūram plates. It is very likely that the mythical genealogy was drawn up even earlier<sup>47</sup> and the objection cannot be passed any further.

The style in which the present record is drawn up also deserves notice. All the early inscriptions of the Pallavas known so far have been recovered from the Telugu country and all of them with the exception of the Mañchikallu epigraph<sup>48</sup> of Simhavarman, are copper-plates. These are all written either in the Prākrit or the Sanskrit language and do not have their counter-parts in any other local language like the Tamil or Telugu. They generally begin with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *māṅgala*: *Jitam Bhagavatā* ‘Victorious is the Lord’. Then the place from which the grant was issued is mentioned. Then the Pallava family to which the donor belongs, is introduced as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and then three generations of the ancestors of the donor are given in set terms. This is followed by the details of the grant and end with the usual imprecatory verses. Generally the major portion of the record is in prose. We find this form continued even by the members of the Simhavishnu line in their grants issued in the Telugu area of their dominion. The Vunna

47. It may be mentioned here that some of the mythical stories giving the origins of royal families are alluded to or referred to in certain Tamil verses included in the anthologies forming the Śaṅgam classics. The story of the mythical origin of the Chālukyas that they were born from the *Chuluka* (the hollow in the palm of the hand when holding water for the ablutions) of god Brahmā or a ṛishi (sage) (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 203) is referred to in a verse in the *Pura-nānūru* (No. 201) where a certain Irunkōvēl is said to have sprung from the *taḍavu* of the sage from the north (*vaḍapāṇ muṇivan taḍavinuḷ tōnri*). Similarly the same chief is called in the poem as well as in the succeeding one (No. 202) as *Puli-kadimāl*, i.e. the lord who had chastised the tiger, which will recall to our mind the story of the origin of the Hoyśalas, wherein a sage is said to have ordered Śala, the progenitor of the family, to slay a tiger, as a consequence of which action the name of Hoyśala was applied to him and that his descendants adopted that name, found mentioned in many Hoyśala inscriptions. The expression *pāṭra-skhalita-vrittinām* belonging to the family of those that flowed out of the vessel used in describing the donor king in the legend on the seal, is also worth considering in this connection.

48. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

Guravapālem plates<sup>49</sup> dated in the 19th regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I, the donor of the Kūram grant, and the Rēyūru grant<sup>50</sup> of his son Narasimhavarman II belong to this variety. It may even be said that a skeleton draft in a set form was used in drawing up these records with the change of names to suit the occasion. But in the case of the copper-plate grants recovered from the Tamil country, it appears that the Sanskrit portion of the records was composed on each occasion afresh. This will become clear by a comparison of the Sanskrit portions of the Kaśākkuḍi,<sup>51</sup> Udayēndiram,<sup>52</sup> Tanḍantōṭṭam<sup>53</sup> and Paṭṭattāl-mangalam<sup>54</sup> plates, all of them belonging to the same king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Each of them is different; even the God invoked at the beginning of each record is not the same. Invariably these are elaborate *praśastis* containing an invocation, and a legendary account of the family coming down to the donor, and also contain details of the grant and the usual imprecation; each is complete in itself. The Tamil portion that generally follows the Sanskrit one is the crisp official document in precise legal terms and official language, also complete in itself.

Similar difference is also seen in the royal seals attached to the grants of these two types. In the charter of the early Pallavas the seal contained in addition to the emblem of bull, a legend in a single line mentioning the name of the king who issued the charter. The Prākṛit grants have this legend; but some of the early Sanskrit charters do not have this legend even. The Vunna Guravapālem and the Rēyūru plates, referred to above, also have seals of this type. The seal of the Vunna Guruvapālem plates of Paramēśvaravarman I is described by the editor in the following words. "The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a recumbent bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *liṅga* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by the crude representation of what looks like a deity seated on

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 91 ff.

50. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97.

51. S.I.I., Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 361 ff.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 517 ff.

54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 115 ff.

a throne. Below the bull, there is a legend which appears to read *Śrī-nādi* apparently standing for *Śrī-Nandī*.<sup>55</sup> The seal of the Kūram grant of the same king is described by Dr. Hultzsch as follows : "The seal is about 2½ inches in diameter and bears a bull which is seated on a pedestal, faces the left and is surmounted by the moon and a *linga* — Further up, there are a few much obliterated syllables. A legend of many letters passes round the whole seal. Unfortunately it is so much worn that I have failed to decipher it."<sup>56</sup> The legend running round the seal of the Kūram plates is absent in the seal of the Vunna Guravapālem grant. But such a legend is found in the seals of all the copper-plate grants obtained from the Tamil country. A comparison of the seal of the present record with that of the Kūram plates will show that most of the details of both of them with the exception of the legend are identical.

These differences in the contents of the copper-plate grants of the Pallavas obtained in the Tamil and Telugu countries were probably due to the difference in the administrative set-up of the respective areas. In the earlier Prākṛit grants like the Mayidavōlu<sup>57</sup> and Hīragadahalli<sup>58</sup> plates, we find the royal orders intimating the grants were addressed to the provincial governors and other officers of the state. In the later Sanskrit charters this is generally absent. But the Tamil portions of such records found in the Tamil country give out the royal orders as addressed to the local assembly of the division, *nādu*, intimating them of the gift made by the king and asking them to give effect to it by delimiting the area of the gift-land, fixing boundary stones and milk-bush and issuing the order of proclamation. The final order of the grant is engraved on copper only after these formalities are completed and with informations furnished by the local assembly. The present record also appears to have been drawn up likewise. Evidently the administration in the Tamil country was decentralised and the local assemblies were functioning effectively with more powers even at that early period.

The grant contains a glowing eulogy of Simhavishṇu. But he was only a crown prince at the time when the grant was issued and

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

56. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144; Plate in *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pl. VII.

57. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 84.

58. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

his father Simhavarman, in the sixth year of whose reign it was issued, was in the throne then. It is very unusual to find the military exploits of a heir-apparent described in an inscription of his father. Very likely, the father was old exercising only the nominal authority of the ruler and the son, in the prime of his life, was the real person and the driving force in running the administration of the kingdom. Probably it was the son who actually made the grant as can be inferred from the wording of the grant. That this should have been the position is also borne out by the Hosakōṭe plates<sup>59</sup> dated in the twelfth regnal year of the Western Gaṅga king Avinīta, registering the gift of some lands to the Yāvanika *samgha* of the Jainas, for the temple of God Arhat constructed by the mother of the Pallava prince Simhavishṇu, for the glory of her husband's family and for the increase of her merit (*bhartri-kula kirtti jananyārtthañcha ātmanaścha dharma pravarddhanārtthañcha*). It describes Simhavishṇu as "the Pallavādhirāja engaged in ruling (his subjects) skilled in all counsel and statecraft and possessed of intellect purified by being washed in the water of the different *Agamas*" (*śāsanādhi-kṛitasya sakala-mantra-tantrāntargatasya vividāgama jala prakshälita viśuddha buddhēh Simhavishṇu Pallavādhirājasya jananyā*).<sup>60</sup> The grant does not give the name of either of the Pallava queen who constructed the temple and made the endowment or of her husband, the Pallava king, for the glory of whose family the land was endowed, but only mentions the name of the prince, their son, who then was conducting the affairs of the kingdom.

One would be tempted, on a consideration of these two records, to conclude that Simhavishṇu was a devout Jaina in religion. But in the Udayēndiram plates<sup>61</sup> of Nandivarman, he is mentioned as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu (*bhaktyārādhita Vishṇu Simhavishṇu*).

Similarly his father Simhavarman appears to have been a devout worshipper of Śiva. In the *Tiru-t-tonda-t-tokai*, a hymn of ten verses sung by Saint Sundara in the temple of Tiruvārūr, making obeisance to all devotees of Śiva, both past and contemporary with him, we find the names of two Pallava kings included. They are Aiyadigal Kāḍavarkōṇ and Kālār-chiṅgaṇ. The latter Kālār-chiṅgaṇ i.e. 'Simha with the hero's anklets', was a contemporary of Sun-

59. *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1938.

60. *Ibid.*, lines, 22, 23.

61. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 366, line 12,

dara as he is referred to in the hymn<sup>62</sup> as the lord ‘who is protecting the whole world surrounded by the ocean’ (*kadal-sūlnda ulag-elām kākkinra perumān kādavarkōn Kalar̄ chingar*). This king has been identified with Narasimhavarman II surnamed Rājasimha by some scholars<sup>63</sup> and with a later king of the Pallavamalla line by some others.<sup>64</sup> The other king Aiyadigal was a past ruler at the time. The *Periyapurāṇam* which gives in detail the life-histories of all the saints mentioned in the *Tiru-t-tonḍa-t-tokai* narrates the life history of this saint as follows: “He belonged to the Kāḍava royal family and was king of Kāñchī. He conquered other countries and brought them under his rule. He was well read and a scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil and an ardent devotee of Śiva. After some years of rule he found the kingly life a burden, bestowed the kingdom on his son and began visiting places sacred to Śiva in his country. At each place he visited he composed one verse in the *venbā* metre in praise of God Śiva. He spent his latter days this way and doing repairs to temples and attained heaven at the end”. The verses composed by him or those available among them have been collected and included in the eleventh book of the *Tirumurai* under the title *Kshetra-t-tiruveṇbā*. The present collection contains only twenty-four stanzas among which we find the lord Śiva presiding in the temples in many places situated in the Kāvērī delta, the traditional Chōla country, like the Kudantai-k-kilkkōṭam (i.e. the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakonam) (verse 2), Kuttālam (v. 5), Tiruppanandāl (v. 21), Tiruvārūr (v. 4), Kulittan-dalam (i.e. the modern Kulittalai in the Tiruchirāpalli district, (v. 9), and others. This would indicate that the Chōla country was, in the days of Aiyadigal, included in the Pallava dominion. We know that Simhavishnu was the first Pallava monarch to have captured the Chōla country of the Kāvērī delta and annexed it to his kingdom. As such, Aiyadigal should have been a Pallava monarch who ruled at Kāñchī for some time after the Pallava conquest of the Chōla country and a predecessor of Kalar̄-chingān who was a contemporary of Sundara, the composer of *Tiruttont-dattokai*. According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, he is also known to have abdicated the kingdom in favour of his son and led a devotee’s life thereafter.

62. Verse 9.

63. M. Raghava Aiyangār: *Ālvārgal Kālanilai* (Tamil) (I Edn.), pp. 135-6.

64. C. Minakshi: *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, pp. 300-305,

There are also works in Sanskrit and Kannada dealing with the life stories of these sixty-three Śaiva saints. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, has elaborately discussed these works in his *Annual Report* for the year 1925 (pp. 5-13). "The *Skāndapurāṇa* or *Skāndōpapurāṇa* the *Śivarahasya* and the *Śivabhaktamāhātmya* are the three most important Sanskrit works which narrate the stories of the Śaivite devotees in the Purānic style. In Tamil the *Periyapurāṇam* is said to be the most important. There are a number of works in Kannada some in prose and a few in verse, dealing with the same subject. The most important among them are the *Aravatta mūvarapurātana charite* in prose the *Trishashṭhi-purātana charite* in prose and verse by Karnāṭaka Kavichakravarti, the *Aravattumūru purātana śaraṇara charite* by Virūpāksha Kavi and the *Trishashṭhi purātana vidhi*. In the Kannada works the devotees are all designated by their Tamil names, while in Sanskrit their names are Sanskritised in almost all cases and can only be identified with the Tamil names after considering the stories applicable to them" (p. 5). Regarding *Aiyadigal*, he gives the following summary "Aiyadigal or Kādavarkōnāyanār was a king of the Pallava dynasty ruling in Kāñchī. He is variously called Simhāṅka, Padasimha, and Pañchapada Simha, whose father (rather son, according to inscriptions of the Pallavas) was Bhīma or Bhīmavarman. He spent the whole revenue of his vast kingdom in constructing Śiva temples, groves, wells, tanks, and feeding houses" (p. 9). Again, "Pañchapada Simha or Simhāṅka as he is also called is said to have built a number of Śiva temples. His father Bhīma is said to have dedicated his life to the service of Śiva and retired from his kingdom early in life, installing Simhāṅka on the throne" (p. 11). It will be seen that according to the above accounts, Simha or Aiyadigal was the son of Bhīmavarman and that the latter retired from his kingdom early in his life entrusting the same to his son. This reverses the order found in the *Periyapurāṇam* which we know is the authentic account of the tradition in the Tamil country and the historical facts known to its author Śēkkilār. It is also known from the Udayēndiram plates<sup>65</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, that Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishṇu, had another son Bhīmavarman whose descendant, sixth in line, was the donor Pallavamalla. We may therefore take that Simhavarman the father of Simhavishṇu and Bhīmavarman

was the person denoted in the above accounts as Aiyadigal Kādavarkōn.

Of his name Aiyadigal, the suffix *adigal* is only a honorific title and his name is Ai. This word *ai* means five, beauty, lord, master, etc. and also a lion (*simha*).<sup>66</sup>

This was evidently caused by a mistranslation of the Sanskrit word *pañchānana* literally ‘broad-faced’ indicating a lion as *aimuka* in Tamil taking the word *pañcha* in the sense of five. There are many such instances of mistranslations. The expression *pañcha pada* in the name found in Sanskrit is a literal translation of the Tamil expression (*ai-y-adigal*). The name Simha added by the translators and the meaning of a lion (*simha*) for the Tamil word *ai* would indicate that the Pallava king was named Simhavarman. So far as we know the only king among the Pallavas at that period i.e. after the conquest of the Kāvēri delta, who had the name Simhavarman and who entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his son even during his lifetime, was the donor of the present grant.

It is also to be noted that we cannot decide the religion of any monarch merely relying on the denomination of the particular religious faith to which he makes a grant. It is just possible that the mother of Simhavishṇu, who constructed a temple for Arhat God in the Gāṅga dominion was a devout follower of the faith to which religion the son made the grant under reference at the instance of his mother.

This being the earliest grant from the Tamil country and also the earliest Tamil record, the orthographical and other peculiarities deserve consideration. Unlike the Kūram grant which is written in a free and running hand, the present record is written in a decorative script which may be described as a sort of monumental variety. In the Sanskrit portion the doubling of the consonants after the *rēpha* usually found in the inscriptions from this part of the country occurs also in this record eg. *Svarggāpava[r]gga* in the opening line and *varmma* in line 10. The symbol for the medial vowel *ri* is distinguished from the conjunct consonant *ra*, cf. *nripa* in line 9 and *dhrishṇū* in line 13. The *anusvāras* are usually written in the form of a dot or small circle<sup>67</sup> in their proper

66. *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v. *ai*

67. The *anusvāra* in the word *ambuja* in line 3 is neither a dot nor a circle but resembles very much the *rēpha*.

places of occurrence in line with other letters and only rarely above the line in which case they are placed on the top of the succeeding letters cf. *Simhavarma* in line 10 and *Simhavishnu* in line 11. Occasionally the dots are placed above the letters between the preceding and succeeding letter, cf. *pamka* in line 10 and *vamśa* in line 12.

In the Tamil portion *pulli* which looks more or less as a small vertical stroke, is marked on the top of all pure consonants, even though there are lapses here and there, but not on the *e* and *o* short as required by the rules of Tamil grammar.<sup>68</sup> It may also be noted that the letters *mu*, *mū* (in line 43) and *lu* (line 34) are clearly distinguished. The language is chaste and crisp. The peculiar forms of the words *vidutaka* in line 33 and *vidunta* in line 35 deserve notice. These are common in the records of the period. The word *vidutaka* occurs in the Bāhūr plates<sup>69</sup> of Nṛipatungavarman where the editor has corrected it as *vidukka*. Similarly the other word *vidunta* is also corrected as *vidutta*. The corrections though not altering the meaning are unwarranted. These inscriptional words correctly portray the forms in which they were current in those days. The superfluous *y* suffixed to words ending with *ē* long (e.g. the word *appoludēy* in line of the Vēlvikudi grant<sup>70</sup> of the Pāṇḍya king Nedūñjadaiyan, the word *mēlēy* in the Tiruvellārai inscription<sup>71</sup> dated in the 6th regnal year of Dantivarman, *dharmaṁśanattēy* in an inscription of the 2nd regnal year of Kampavarman from Porpandal in the Kāñchipuram taluk)<sup>72</sup> found in the early medieval records is absent in this record. So also the words *Koduttōm*, *Kodutta*, etc. are found in their correct forms in this record instead of the forms *Kuduttōm* and the like commonly found in many other records. A comparison of the Tamil portion of the present record with similar portion in the other records of the Pallavas will be an interesting study of the evolution and growth of the form in which the documents of such gift deeds were drafted. The present record being the earliest is couched in a concise and crisp form.

68. *Tolkāppiyam*, *Eluttadhikāram*, *sūtra* 16.

69. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 5 ff.

70. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.

71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 48.

72. *Ibid.*, No. 97.

The grant describes Simhavishnu as having adorned the *Bhrāji* family. We do not know if the Pallavas had at any time described themselves as belonging to the *Bhrāji* family and we do not also know otherwise of any royal family having this name. The *pāda* of the verse is short of one syllable here and considering the alliteration of the verse it has to be restored as *Bhrājishnu vamśa*. The word *Bhrājishnu* means radiant and also indicates gods Śiva and Vishnu. If the meaning of radiant is adopted then the expression *Bhrājishnu vamśa svam-alamkarishnu* would mean 'he who adored by his person the radiant family.' This is rather improbable and will not suit the context. It can be taken only as indicating the particular family to which he belonged.

Then the word *Bhrājishnu* will only indicate either Śiva or Vishnu. The Pallavas claim themselves as the descendants of Brahmā who was himself born of the lotus emanated from the navel of Vishnu. Thus the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas wherever found commences with Vishnu. Even the sculptural representation of the ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla figuring on the walls of the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram<sup>73</sup> begins with Vishnu as the first figure. But nowhere do we find the Pallavas claiming themselves as belonging to the Vishnuvamśa. They are described as belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and sometimes as belonging to the *Brahma-kshatriya Kula*.<sup>74</sup> (It may be noted in this connection that the mythical genealogies of some other royal families, like the Pāṇḍyas, the Chālukyas, and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, also commence from Vishnu). On the other hand there are many references to the claim of the Pallavas that they belonged to the lineage of Śiva. The inscriptions of the late Pallava chiefs make a certain Mukkanti Kāduvetṭi or Trinayana Pallava as the progenitor of the family.<sup>75</sup> Trinayana is an appellation of Śiva with whom this Pallava, also said to be the possessor of the third eye, is sometimes connected.<sup>76</sup> The records of the Nolamba-Pallavas<sup>77</sup> definitely state that they belonged to the Īśvara-vamśa

73. C. Minakshi: *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumāl Temple, Kāñchī*, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 63).

74. S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 48.

75. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla*, Appendix C, p. 110.

76. A. R. E., 1908, Part II, para. 72. The inscription No. 580 of 1907 from Nandalur of the time of Manuma-siddhi of the twelfth century actually trace Mukkanti-Kāduvetṭi to the third eye of Śiva.

77. Ep. Car., Vol. XII, Si. 28.

which descended from Trinayana, the Pallava king of Kāñchī. But it is also very doubtful whether a similar tradition existed at such an early date, so as to connect the mention of *Bhrājishnuvaṁśa* in our record with that tradition.

The prince Simhavishnu is described as *Jita-Simhaviṣṇu* which expression may be taken as comparing him to god Vishṇu in his *avatār* as Narasimha or alternately as having conquered another king bearing the same name Simhavishnu. Very likely the latter is intended here. The only other king bearing the name Simhavishnu, we know of in those days, was a Telugu Chōla. The Mālēpādu plates<sup>78</sup> of Puṇyakumāra state that Nandivarman the grandfather of the donor had three sons. Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjaya and that each of them became ruler of a separate kingdom. (*tē putr-ānuputry-ānubhūta rājya-śriyah*).<sup>79</sup> The descendants of Sundarananda and Dhanañjayavarman are known to us. Śrī-Kaṇṭha-Chōlādhirāja, the donor of the Madras Museum plates,<sup>80</sup> was a descendant of Sundarananda. Dhanañjayavarman, the last of the three brothers, according to the Mēlēpādu plates, had a son Mahēndravikravarman "who acquired the title Chōla Mahārāja (*pari-prāpta-chōla-mahāraja śabdah*) had also the surnames *Muditaśilākshara* (one who delighted in stone script, i.e. in inscription), *Navarāma*, etc. His son was king Guṇamudita, and the latter's brother was the king Śrī Puṇyakumāra, the donor of the grant. Puṇyakumāra had the title *Pōrmukharāma*, *Purushasārdūla*, *Mārdavachitta*, *Madanavilāsa*, etc. But of Simhavishnu, the eldest of the three sons of Nandivarman, we do not have any other information than the statement in the inscriptions that he was also ruling over a kingdom. The titles *Mārdavachitta* and *Madanavilāsa* of Puṇyakumāra "indicate some apparent affinity to *Mattavilāsa* and *Vichitrachitta* of Pallava *Mahēndravarman*." Paleographically also the record may be assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D. Then Simhavishnu the Telugu Chōla ruler would become the contemporary of his Pallava namesake. Very likely the Chōla ruler Nandivarman was a contemporary of the Pallava king having the same name who was the predecessor of

78. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 337 ff.

79. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 249. The Dommara-Nandyala plates of the same king Puṇyakumāra (*ibid.*, p. 274) read here as *tēshām-ānupūrv-ānubhūta-rajya-śriyam* "who (the three sons) enjoyed in succession the fortunes of (their) kingdom".

80. *Jl. Ind. History*, Vol. XV.

Simhavarman, the donor of the present grant.<sup>81</sup> It is possible that the other Simhavishnu conquered by the Pallava was the Chōla mentioned above.

Pallava Simhavishnu is also said to have conquered the Chōla country, rich in rice fields and watered by the river Kāvērī. The adversary from whom he captured that territory has not been clearly mentioned anywhere. Mahēndravarman I appears to have inherited that territory from his father, as he has excavated a rock-cut temple for Śiva at Tiruchirāpalli and does not claim any victory over the region. It is also significant that the description of the Chōla country of the Kāvērī region given in his inscription<sup>82</sup> at the rock-cut temple echoes that found in the present grant.

This is perhaps the earliest and the only grant either on stone or on copper-plate registering an endowment to the Jaina temple or monastery by the Pallava monarchs either in the Tamil country or in the Telugu area under their rule. From a study of the classical Tamil literature we learn that Jainism had taken deep root in the Tamilnādu even in those days. A fairly large section of the population seems to have been attracted to that faith which had made considerable progress in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era having, evidently, received the patronage of royal houses. The sponsors of the *bhakti* cult in reviving the Śaiva and Vaishṇava faiths had to contend hard with the heretical sects like those of the Buddhists, Jainas, Ājīvakas and others, among whom the followers of the Jaina faith, temples and monasteries of which were spread all over the Tamil country, were probably predominant.

The *Lōkavibhāga*,<sup>83</sup> a Digambara work in Sanskrit on the Jaina cosmography, says in its preamble that the work was copied by Sarvanandi in the village of Pātalikā in the Pānarāshṭra, identifiable with the modern Tiruppādiripuliyūr (Cuddalore N. T.) in the South Arcot district in the Śaka year 380, (equivalent to 458 A.D.) corresponding to the twenty-second regnal year of Simhavarman, King of Kāñchī.

Endowments of lands and even of entire villages would certainly have been made to these institutions, though none of the

81. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 249.

82. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 33, 34.

83. *My. Arch. Rep.*, 1909-10, p. 45.

grants recording such gifts has been recovered so far. But that such endowments were under the enjoyment of the Jainas of those days is confirmed by the statement found in later day records. A solitary instance of a private individual giving some lands to the Jaina temple at Vedāl in the North Arcot district is found in a fragmentary record<sup>84</sup> dated in the 14th regnal year of Nandivarman, probably Pallavamalla, found at that place. The Udayēndiram plates<sup>85</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla state that the king gave away the land specified therein after "having expropriated the lands of others whose observances were not in accordance with the *dharma*" (*anyān-adha[r\*]mmā-krityān-vināśya bhūmin-tatta-vān*). That the members of the different faith mentioned there referred only to the Jainas will become clear from another copper-plate grant<sup>86</sup> of a later date obtained from the same place, i.e. the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati II, registering the gift of the neighbouring village Kaḍaikkōṭtūr as a *brahmadēya* after excluding the two *pattis* called *Vidyādhari-patti* and *Dēvapatti* which are mentioned in the copper-plate inscription as "*pallichchandam* of old" (*palam-pallichchandam*) and "had been formerly enjoyed by the Digambaras and were known to have been formerly belonged to the *kshapanakas*".

It is generally believed that the term *pallichchandam* by which land-endowments made to non-Hindu temples are designated is first met with in epigraphy only in the ninth century A.D.<sup>87</sup> An undated inscription<sup>88</sup> found on a boulder at Tēṇimalai, also known as Tēṇūrmalai, in the Tirumayyam taluk of the former Pudukottai State, records that Irukkuvel, a member of the family of the Koḍumbälūr chiefs paid his respects to a certain Malayadhavan performing penance there and endowed some lands as *pallichchandam*. We do not know which of the Irukkuvel chiefs of Koḍumbälūr made this endowment. But from a study of the palaeo-epigraphy the record has been assigned to the eighth century,<sup>89</sup> and

84. A. R. E., No. 82 of 1908.

85. S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 368, line 75. Thomas Foulkes who edited the record in the *Ind. Ant.*, (Vol. VIII, p. 281) has translated this expression as "having destroyed (all) persons whose observances were not in accordance with the law of Dharma".

86. S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 384-6; lines 97-98 and also verses 27 and 28.

87. P.B. Desai: *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 79.

88. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 9.

89. *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 83.

this is definitely earlier than the other datable references to *pallichchandam*. The earliest datable reference to this term is found in a record of Kampavarman from Kīlputtūr in the Kāñchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district.<sup>90</sup> The present record which is about four centuries earlier than the time of Kampavarman registers a gift as *pallichchandam* and this becomes the earliest of the records referring to it, attesting at the same time that *pallichchandam* had been in existence even then.

Even though we are aware what the term *pallichchandam* signifies the derivation of the term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. One recent writer explains the word as follows: "Leaving out of consideration for the moment its Buddhist associations which are neither numerous nor so frequent, the word *Palli* signifies a Jaina temple or monastery or academy; and *chandam* must be a simplified form of 'chontam' which is derived from Sanskrit *svatantram* meaning 'one's own'. So *Pallichchandam* means 'whatever is owned exclusively' by the Jaina religious institution of the above description, a land, village, etc."<sup>91</sup> The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri tried to derive *chandam* from Sanskrit *sat*.<sup>92</sup> Both the derivations for *chandam* are very doubtful and not satisfactory. The Tamil word *chandam* which is probably related to the Sanskrit word *chhanda* has, according to the *Piṅgalantai nighaṇṭu*, the meaning 'pleasure' (*sukha*)<sup>93</sup> which also connotes enjoyment. Thus the term *pallichchandam* will mean "that which is for the enjoyment of the *palli*."

The inscription registers the grant as *pallichchandam* of all the land enclosed by the four great boundaries (*peru-nāngellai*) specified therein, including the wet-land (*nīr-nilam*), dry-land (*pun-śey*), brackish land i.e. the saline soil (*kālar*), waste land where the calves graze (*kanru-mēy-pāl*) i.e. the pasture ground, forests (*kādu*), *pīdilikai*, ditches (*kiḍāṅgu*), wells (*kēni*), houses (*manai*), house-gardens (*manai-p-padappu*), and all land where iguana runs and tortoise crawls not excluding any land within the area. The exact nature of the land indicated by the term *pīdilikai* is not known. This term occurs in the Rāyakōṭa plates<sup>94</sup> of Pallava Skandaśishya II

90. S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 102.

91. P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*

92. S.I.A., Vol. II, p. 52, n. 2.

93. *Tamil Lexicon*, (s. v. *cantam*).

94. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 49-53.

assignable to *circa* 750 A.D. and the Larger Leyden grant.<sup>95</sup> In both the records the term occurs in the context where the several varieties of land included in the gift village are enumerated. An inscription<sup>96</sup> from Karuntaṭāṅkuḍi near Tañjāvūr dated the 5th regnal year Rājēndra Chōla I mentions the gold-diadem made out of gold accumulated till the previous year in various ways, including *pīḍilīgai-vāri*. This shows that the word *pīḍilikai* is connected with a temple which expression may be taken from the context in which it is used as indicating the materials connected by removal from the *pīḍilikai*... Another inscription<sup>97</sup> from Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district dated in the 20th regnal year of Kampavarmān incised above the figure of a person holding his severed head by the tuft in his left hand, while the right hand grasps a sword, registers the gift of land for the pious act of a person in cutting off flesh from nine parts of his body and finally his head as an offering to the goddess *Bhaṭāri*, i.e. *Durgā*. There it is said that he cut off his head and placed it on the *pīḍilikai* (*Bhaṭārikku-nava-k-kanṭam-kuḍuttu kunṛaga-t-talai aruttu-p-pīḍilikai-mēl vaittāṇukku*). The context in which the word is used would indicate that it denoted the *bali-pīṭha*.

It is learnt from the *Silappadikāram* that *śilātalas* placed under the cool shades of *Aśōka* trees, were venerated in those days. Kōvalan who was leaving the city of Puhār, i.e. Kāvirippūmpattinām for Madurai with his wife Kanṇaki is said to have worshipped among others the *śilātala* also. This has been described by the poet in the following words<sup>98</sup>: "They then worshipped, and went round the highly shining *śilātala* jointly built by the Jaina-householders for the benefit of the *Chāraṇas* who would assemble on festive days such as the day of the first freshes (in the Kāvēri) and of the car festival, under the entrancingly cool shade of the golden flowered *Aśōka* tree, standing on a high platform where all the five termini sacred to the five great *yogins* converged. There gathered the men of penance who had abjured meat-eating, and taken the vow of speaking the truth alone, and purified themselves of all sins, understanding the true path by restraining their senses".

The Jaina work *Aupapāṭika Sūtra* contains a long account of the shrine (*ceiya*, i.e. *chaitya*) of the Yaksha Pūrnabhadrā

95. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII.

96. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1413.

97. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 106, also plate facing the page.

98. *Silappadikāram*, Eng. tr. by V. R. R. Dikshitar, p. 157

(Puṇṇabhadda): "Near Champa there was a sanctuary (*ceiya*) named Puṇṇabhaddade. It was of ancient origin, told of by men of former days, old, renowned rich, and well known. It had umbrellas, banners, and bells; it had flags upon flags to adorn it, and was provided with brushes (*lōma-hattha*: marvellous to behold or yak-tail fly-whisks?).

"It had daises (*vēyadḍi*) built in it, and was reverentially adorned with a coating of dry cow-dung, and bore figures of the five-fingered hand painted in *gōśīrsha* sandal, fresh red sandal, and Dardara sandal. There was in it great store of ritual pitchers. On (?beside, or above) its doorways were ritual jars (*vandaraghade*) and well-fashioned arches (*tōraṇē*). Broad round and long-drooping masses of bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of the five colours scattered therein. It smelt pleasantly with the shimmering reek of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka*, and *turukka* (incenses), and was odorous with sweet-smelling fine scents, a very incense-wafer. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, jumpers, reciters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers, picture showmen (*maṅkhe*), pipers, lute-players, and minstrels .... This sanctuary was encompassed round about by a great wood .... In this wood there was a broad mid-space. Therein, it is related, was a great and fine Aśōka-tree. It had its root pure with *Kuśa* and *Vikusa* grass .... Underneath this fine Aśōka tree, somewhat close to its trunk, was, it is related, a large dais of (? resting upon) earthern blocks (*pudhavī-śilā-paṭṭaē*). It (the dais) was of goodly proportions as to breadth, length and height; and it was black .... smooth and massive, eight cornered, like the face of a mirror, very delightful and variously figured with wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, elves, ruru-deer, *sarabha*-deer, yak-oxen, elephants, forest-creepers, and *padmaka*-creepers .... It was shaped like a throne, and was comforting .... comly".

The *pudhavī-śilā-paṭṭaē* (i.e. *prithvī-śilā-paṭṭaka* in Sanskrit) of the Jaina *sūtras* is evidently the *śilātala* of the Śilappadikāram and the same probably represents the *pīḍilikai* of the inscription, thus indicating the land on which the sanctuary stood.

The several *parihārās* granted, i.e. the exemptions from taxes or the immunities to be enjoyed by the donees usually found in detail in similar grants are not mentioned in this record. This does not mean that no such exemptions from taxes were made

in the case of the village gifted by this record. The very name *pallichandam* itself given in the record as applied to the nature of the gift and the manner of enjoyment by the donee clearly indicates that it carried with it certain privileges. Further the inscription states that the village was gifted and made as *pallichandam* after having observed and completed certain formalities. In the Sanskrit portion of the grant it is said that the entire gift village of Śramaṇāśrama or Amaṇśērkai was separated and its boundaries fixed. The actual expression is *grāmam samagram pravibhakta sīmam* (lines 20-21). This can also be interpreted to mean that the gift village was divided and separated from the territorial division or *sīma*, i.e. the *nādu*. In the Tamil portion of the grant it is said that the gift was made "after changing the *kō* and *pori*" (*kōvum poriyum mārri*) (line 53). The same expression occurs in the Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam grant<sup>99</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla registering the gift of a *brahmadēya* village in the form *kōvum poriyum tīrndu*, 'after having terminated *kō* and *pori*'. The word *kō* means kingship, sway, rule, domination, etc., while *pori* means writing, seal, signet, fate, etc. The expression may therefore be translated "after having removed from (the village) the exercise of the rights of the king and his authorities".

The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates<sup>100</sup> of Nandivarman III registering the gift of the village Śrikāṭṭupalli on the request of the Chōla Mahārāja Kumarāṅkuṣa to the Śiva temple built by a certain Yajñabhaṭṭa states that the gift village was excluded from the jurisdiction and control of the assembly of the division *nādu* (*nāṭtu-nīngal*). Similarly it appears that the *pallichandam* village also, like the *brahmadēya* and *dēvadāna* villages, was not subject to the control of the assembly of the *nādu* and was independent of it. This becomes clear from the way in which the royal orders of some of the later Chōla monarchs were issued initiating the gift of similar grants not only to the assembly of the *nādu* (*nāṭṭar*), but also to the owners of *ūr* in the *dēvadāna*, *pallichanda*, *kaṇimurrūṭtu*, and *vēṭṭappēru* villages and to those of the *nagara* or

99. *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 122, lines 36-7. Sri K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has edited the grant has read this as *kōvum poriyum tirandu*. The word *tirandu* is not found in the Tamil Lexicon. We do not also know of any other word with *tira* as its root. Even if it is taken as having been derived from *tirangu*, though such formation is not according to the rules of Tamil grammar, it will mean shrunk or reduced.

100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 509, line 50.

merchant-guild. (This has been discussed by me in detail elsewhere, while editing the Fragmentary Copper-plate grant of Sundara Chōla, below). Thus it will be clear that the *pallichchandams* were outside the jurisdiction of the local assembly of the *nādu* and consequently not liable to pay the rates and taxes payable to such assemblies.

Such villages were not also liable to pay any tax to the king and his government. The Tandantōṭṭam<sup>101</sup> and Paṭṭatālmaṅgalam<sup>102</sup> plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla clearly specify that the donees of the respective grants were exempt from all taxes which the king could receive and enjoy from that village (*kō-ttottu unṇa-p-pāla-vellām unṇa-p-peṭādār-āgavum*). Similar expression occurs in other records also, e.g., the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates<sup>103</sup> of Nandivarman III. The Bāhūr plates<sup>104</sup> of Nripatunga registering the gift of three villages as *brahmadēya* for the enjoyment (*vidyābhōga*) to the seat of learning (*vidyāsthāna*) there, state that the villages were to enjoy all the privileges and immunities applicable to Bāhūr with which they had been clubbed, without mentioning such exemptions in detail. In many records of the Vākāṭakas, registering land-gifts to *Brāhmaṇas* (e.g. the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā),<sup>105</sup> it is mentioned that “the exemptions incident to a village belonging to the community of Chāturvidyas (as) approved by former kings” were conferred on the donees. The Mayidavōlu plates of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman also say that the gift was made in the following terms *etēhi anehicha sava bambhadēya-majādāya sava parihareshi pariharito*. It will be apparent from the above that *brahmadēya* gifts had by usage come to enjoy certain inherent exemptions. It is very likely that *pallichchandam* grants also enjoyed similar privileges.

Among the immunities enjoyed by the donees of *brahmadēya* villages specific mention is made of some privileges in certain

101. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 521, lines 33-4.

102. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.

103. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 509, line 56.

104. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

105. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 213. The text (lines 15-6) runs as follows: *Yatobhavadbhīr-uchita-maryyādayā sarvv-ājñāḥ kartavyāḥ pūrvva-rājānu-tānmach ātra chāturvidy-āgrahāra parihaṛān-vitarāmas-tadyatā-a-bhātā-chhātra-pravēśyah.*

grants. The Mayidavōlu plates<sup>106</sup> abovementioned include *abhaḍa-papesam* as one of the immunities the village obtained thus that it should not be entered by soldiers. The Poona plates of Prabhāvati-guptā state that "it is not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers". This mention of umbrella-bearers clearly indicates that king and their followers have nothing to do with such villages which were immune from their control.

The expression *kōvum-poriyum mārri* of the present record should be understood in the light of the above, to indicate that the gift village was completely freed from the administrative control of the Government and that it secured an independent status.<sup>107</sup>

The use of the word *paradatti* (in line 63) in describing the grant in this record is significant. This word occurs in other records also, e.g. the Bāhūr plates<sup>108</sup> of Nṛipatungavarman, the Kaśākkudi plates<sup>109</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the Vēlūr-pālaiyam plates<sup>110</sup> of Nandivarman III. There the word has been translated as the 'gift' and this does not seem to convey fully the import of the word. Literally the word *paradatti* may be taken as indicating the gift to another person or the gift by another person. If the former is intended the prefix *para* is superfluous as *datti* itself would indicate that which is given as a gift. In some of the imprecatory verses usually found in inscriptions this word is used in the latter sense.

*svadāttām paradāttām vā  
yō harēta vasundharām |  
shashti varsha sahasrāṇi  
vishṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih ||*

106. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 86-8.

107. One of the usual imprecatory verses beginning *ek-aiva bhaginī-lökē* found in grants making land gifts compares the gift land to a sister and thus not fit to be appropriated and enjoyed. The expression *na kara-grāhya* means 'no tax to be collected' as well as 'no obtaining the hand'. There are many *purānic* stories which describe that kings of old never even resided in the land they had once given away. Hariśchandra left his ancient kingdom after having given it to Viśvāmitra and went to Vārāṇasī. Paraśurāma is said to have created the land of Kerala, as he had no place to reside, he having gifted all his possessions to others.

108. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 10.

109. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, line 133.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 509, line 63.

*savadattādviguṇam puṇyam  
 paradattānupālanam |  
 paradattāpahārēṇa  
 svadattam nishphalam bhavēt ||*

The use of the word *paradattam* in opposition with *svadattam* will clearly indicate that it means 'gift by another person'. It can also be surmised from a study of the records wherein the word *paradatti* occurs, that the gifts mentioned therein were originally made by some other person and that such gifts were later confirmed by the monarchs declaring the gift-lands or villages tax-free.

A fragmentary inscription<sup>111</sup> from Pillaipälaiyam on the outskirts of Kāñchipuram dated in the reign of Dantivarman mentions the *paradatti* of four *paṭṭis* of land to the old temple of Tirumērrali and to a *matha*, probably attached to it, on the request of Kāduvētti-Muttaraiyan (*Kādu-vētti-Muttaraiyan—viṇnappattal—parihāramāga paradatti śenradu*). The implication of the verb *śenradu* derived from the root *śel*, 'to go, proceed, pass', and generally used along with *paradatti* wherever the term occurs, deserves notice.

It is said in the present record that the previous tenants of the gift village were removed (*kudi-nūkki*) before it was granted as *pallichchandam*. The word *kudi* means a tenant owning the land. Thus it would mean that the village was first acquired by purchase or otherwise, not specified in the grant, by the donor in the first instance and then given away as a gift free of all encumbrances and also of the tax and that the donee was at liberty to colonize the village as he wished. In the Kūram plates<sup>112</sup> of Parāmēśvaravarman I registering a gift of land by Vidyāvinita Pallava, evidently a prince of the royal family, to some Brāhmaṇas and to the Śiva temple built by him, it is mentioned that the prince purchased the land paying gold and made it his own before making the gift.

There are many instances, in later inscriptions of kings like Nripatungavarman, Aparājitaravarman and Kampavarman, of payments in lump sum being made in advance by the donors of lands to temples and others tax-free, thus compounding the future

111. S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 44.

112. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.

taxes payable on such lands by the donees.<sup>113</sup> No such details are mentioned in the grant.

The Tamil portion of the grant states that the gift of the entire village of Amaṇśēkkai and of sixteen *pāttis* of land in Tāmar as *pallichchandam* to the ascetic (teacher) Vajranandi of Tirupparuttikkunril, while the Sanskrit portion states that it was given to Vajranandi of the Nandi *sāṅgha* to meet the expenses of worshipping the Jinēndras, Jainēndras and Munīndras at the holy place of the auspicious lord Varadhamāna (*Śrī Vardhamānēśvara dharmma-tīrtha*). Evidently the *pallichchandam* was granted to the temple of Vardhamāna at Paruttikkunril and handed over the same to Vajranandi, the head of the monastery there. The temple of Vardhamāna at Paruttikkunril is evidently the same now remaining at Tirupparuttikkunram near Kāñchipuram. The place is also known as Jina-Kāñchī and the original seat of the Jaina pontiff, now residing at Chittāmūr near Tindivanam in the South Arcot district. The temple of Vardhamāna at Tirupparuttikkunram, according to Sri T. N. Ramachandran, a late one, at least in its present form, while the other one that of Chandraprabha, the earlier.<sup>114</sup> But it is seen from this grant that there existed a temple for Vardhamāna at that place even in those days.

Regarding the name Tirupparuttikkunril of the place Sri Ramachandran says: "We have perhaps in the name Tirupparuttikkunram, a corruption of the name Śemporkunram meaning 'the Beautiful Golden Hill', the name by which the place is referred to in an inscription".<sup>115</sup> The inscription<sup>116</sup> referred to by him is a very late one dated in the 18th regnal year

113. The stone inscription from the Tiruchirāppallī district dated in the 23rd regnal year of Nṛipatungavarman (No. 84 of 1892) records that the *sabha* at Geṅgāgudi sold some lands to Pūdi Kanṭhan and permitted him to endow the same to god at Tiruttavaturai after receiving from him gold necessary for freeing the land from the land-tax and other fees. Another record from Tiruttani dated in the 18th regnal year of Aparājita (S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 95) states that Nampi Appi, evidently the builder of the Śiva temple there, endowed some land obtained by purchase and made tax-free perpetually by paying gold to the *sabha* (*sabhaiyārkku irai-ili-āvadarkku pon koduttu*). This lump sum payment is called *irai-kāval* in an inscription from Kāvāntandalam of the time of Kampavarman (No. 207 of 1901).

114. T. N. Ramachandran: *Tirupparuttikkunram and its Temples* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, Vol. I, Part 3), p. 10.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

116. S.I.I. (Text), Vol. IV, No. 367.

of the Chōla monarch Rājarāja III, corresponding to 1234 A.D., wherein the name Šemporkunru is given only as alias of Tirupparuttikunram which is also mentioned there. Śrī Ramachandran further writes: "The name Tiru-p-paruttikunram seems to have been derived from the fact that the cultivation of 'parutti' the Tamil name for cotton, was once carried on here on a large scale. In proof of this fact it is now pointed out that the image of Chandraprabha in the small temple at Tirupparuttikunram is placed on the second floor at a height of about twelve feet from the ground in order that it may not be hidden amidst the cotton cultivation".<sup>117</sup> This derivation does not seem to be acceptable. Just as the name Kalugumalai is the Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Gridharakūta*, Paruttikunru also should have been the translation in Tamil, with the prefix *tiru* equivalent to *Sri* added, of some place name intimately connected with the life of Vardhamāna Mahāvira. This view is further strengthened by the fact that there are many villages in the Tamil country like Paruttiyūr, Paruttikkudi, etc. having association with *parutti*. Only we are now not aware of the incident connecting the name.

The *praśasti* was composed by Mēdhāvin who was well versed in all the śāstras, who was very respectable, and who was like Brihaspati (*Dhishana*) in intelligence. The Udayēndiram plates<sup>118</sup> of Nandivarman Pallavamalla state that the *prasasti* of that grant was drawn by the poet Paramēśvara who was the son of the illustrious Chandradēva and was born in the family of Mēdhāvi. (*Mēdhāvi kulōdbhavaḥ*).<sup>119</sup> The claim of the poet Paramēśvara that he was born in the family of Mēdhāvi would suggest that Mēdhāvin should have been an ancestor of the family some generations removed and also a great poet of renown and also probably had composed similar *praśastis*. It is very likely that Mēdhāvi the composer of the present grant was the ancestor of the same name of the poet who composed the *praśasti* of the Udayēndiram grant.

117. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

118. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 874 (verse 8).

119. *Ibid.*, line 105. It is possible to split the expression into two, *mēdhāvi* (meaning a person of supreme intelligence) and *kulōdbhavaḥ* (born of good family), taking both of them as attributes to the poet instead of taking the word *Mēdhāvin* as a proper name. But the context wherein the expression occurs would suggest that the word *Mēdhāvi* should be taken as a proper name.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant *Venkuṇṭra-k-kōṭṭam* figures in many inscriptions and comprised the region surrounding *Venkuṇṭram* in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district. The sub-division of Perungara-nāḍu included in it consisted of the region round Perunagar, a village about eight miles west of Uttaramallūr in the Kāñchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district. The territory round about Uttaramallūr was included in the Kāliyūr-k-kōṭṭam which we know was contiguous to the Venkuṇṭra-k-kōṭṭam. The gift village Amanśēkkai is evidently the modern Ammaṇampākkam near *Venkuṇṭram* and which is not also distant from Perunagar.

The name *Pāṇḍiyan-kayam*, i.e. the Pāṇḍiya tank, occurring among the boundaries mentioned in the grant is interesting. How the name of Pāṇḍya came to be associated with a place near Kāñchipuram at such an early period, is not known.

#### TEXT

##### *First plate—Second side*

1. Svargg-āpava[r]gga praguṇāgrama—
2. tāj=jinēndrah [|\*] munindra dēvēndra na—
3. bṛinda-vandyah || āsīd=a[m]bujanābha n[ā]—
4. t=ōmgirā gī[r]vvāñē[śa]—
5. yur<sup>120</sup>=Bharadvājakah Drō[na]—
6. ra<sup>121</sup>-ripōr=amśas-tatah Pallavah[śri]—
7. na-kshmā vallabhā<sup>122</sup> vallabhah || tatah pra—
8. k=aśokēshvitēshv=Aśoka—

##### *Second plate—First side*

9. Pallavēśhu kramāt [|\*] pranamra-nriṇipakamra-mauļy= aruṇa-ratna-ra-
10. śmy=ātapa(t)- prabuddha-pada-pāmkajēshv=ajani Sim-havarmmādhipāt ||

120. It should be *Śamyur*, the letters *śam* being lost at the end of the previous line.

121. The intended expression seems to be *Mura-ripōr*, the letter *Mu* being at the end of the previous line is lost.

122. Read *bhō* after supplying the *kombu* for *bhō*.

11. Śrī Simhavishṇur-jjita-simhavishṇur-bbalēna-jishṇur dhanushāpi
12. jishṇum [ | \* ] Bhrāji [ shṇu\* ] vamśam svam=alamkarishṇur nnirākarishṇu=ssa—
13. marēshu dhṛishṇūn || Satya-tyāga-vinītataḍi vimalai<sup>123</sup>
14. yasminn=labdh=āspadam bṛindam kshātraguṇam samunnatam=atāv=a-
15. nyēshv=alabdhā[spa]dam[ | \* ]yēnāhāritarām Kavēratanayā hā=
16. rāpi Chōlāvanīś-sālē-yēkshu-vaṇā-m-śukā-<sup>124</sup>-kramuka-

*Second plate—Second side*

17. rambhā-rāmasan-mēkhalā|| Śrī Varddha=mānēśvara dharmma-tīrtthē
18. Śrī Nandi-samghōd-ghagane gaṇaiśai [ | \* ] gunyair=aga-
19. nyair guṇibhiḥ prapūrṇē gaṇī gaṇivājani Vajra Nandī||
20. Sōdān-nṛip-ōsmai Śramaṇāśram=ākhyām grāmam
21. samagram pravibhakta sīmām[ | \* ] Jinēndra Jainēndra Mu-
22. nīndra bṛinda pūjāvidhānāya tapōdhanāya|| atr=ājñā-
23. ptir = abhūt-mantri nāmnā Narabhay-ōbhayah[ | \* ] praś-rayam praśamā
24. d-yudgha guṇasamgh-āspa[da\*]ṁ sudhīḥ|| Samasta śāstra nishṇā

*Third plate—First side*

25. ta dhishṇo dhishṇopamah[ | \* ]mānyo nāmnāpi
26. Mēdhāvī praśastim kṛitavān=imām ||
27. Kō - Viśaiya Simhavarmmarku yāṇḍ-āṇāvadu [ | \* ] Ven-
28. kuṇṭra-k-kōṭṭattu-p- Perunagara-nāṭṭu nāṭṭār
29. kāṇka[ | \* ]tan-nāṭṭu Amaṇśēkkai Parutti-
30. kkunṭril Vajra-Nandi-k-kuravarkku-p-Pallichandamā
31. ga-k-koḍuttōm [ | \* ]tāṅgalum paḍāgai naḍantu kal-
32. luṇ kalliyum-nāṭṭi araiyōlai śeydu ko-

*Third plate—Second side*

33. ḍuttuviḍudaga-v-enru nāṭṭārkku-t-tirumukam vida nāṭṭā-
34. rum-tirumukan-kanḍu toludu talaikku vaittu paḍā-

123. The letter *ma* is over-written on *la*.

124. The symbol for the medial *ā* in the letter *kā* is over-written.

35. gai naḍa[n\*]tu kalluṇ kalliyu-nāṭṭi nāṭṭār viḍunta
36. arāiyōlaippadi-kk-ellai [|\*] Kilpā-
37. l=ellai endal=ēriyin kīlai-k-kadarri-
38. n̄ mēṛkum=ōmaikkollai ellai innu-
39. m tenpāl=ellai Vēl Vadugan̄ kāṇiyi-
40. n̄ vadakkum kadarrin=ellai innu-Nilapādi

*Fourth plate—First side*

41. ellai innum Vilāḍan̄ kur̄=ittatt=ellai
42. innum mēlpāl=ellai māv=ēttattu
43. vaḍiyin̄ kīlakkum mummūlai-ēttatt=ellai
44. innum=ārr=ellai innum vaḍapāl=el-
45. lai perunkollaiyin̄-rērku innum
46. Pāṇḍiyān̄ kayatt=ellai innum Murukkañ-
47. kēni ellai[|\*]iv-v-iśaitta peru-nāṅk=el
48. lai-y-agattum=agappaṭṭa nilam nīrnilamum

*Fourth plate—Second side*

49. puṇ̄seyyum kaḷarum kanrumēy-pālum kāḍu-
50. m pīḍilīgaiyum kiḍāṅguṇ kēṇiyum maṇai-
51. yum maṇaippadappum udumb=ōdi āmai tava-
52. lñdad=ellām uṇṇilan̄-oliv=inri
53. kōvum poriyum māṛri kudi-nīkki ivv=ūr
54. perra Vajra Nandi-k-kuravarkkē pallichchandam=āga Tā
55. manilum-padiñārarai-p-paṭṭi nilan̄-koḍut-
56. tōm[|\*]innilattirk-ellai kīlpāl=e-

*Fifth plate—First side*

57. llai Pulikīlār-paṭṭiyin̄ mēṛkum tenpā-
58. l=ellai Mullēripāt̄=ellaiyin̄ vaḍa-
59. kkum mēlpāl=ellai pōkkuvāy-ch-chēru-
60. viṇ̄ kīlakkum vaḍapāl=ellai pallāṅku-
61. li-k-kāviṇ̄ terkkum[|\*] in-naṅk=ellai
62. yagattum agappaṭṭa bhūmiyum Paruttikkunri-
63. l Vajra-Nandi-k-kuravarkkē pallichchandam=āga parada-
64. tti śenṛadu Narabhayan̄=āṇattiyāl[||\*] Siddham.<sup>125</sup>

125. Expressed by a symbol resembling an ornate si.

## First plate—Second side

1. ஷந்தாவவழு[—] பூர்ணாந் தி-
2. தாஜிதெநந் : சீந்து தெவநந-
3. பூநவநுப்॥ குவீது பொஜநால்[நா]-
4. தொந்திரா தீவு[—]ாணை[ஸ]-
5. பாக்ஸாஞ்சகம் [!\*] தெ[ா][ண]
6. ராசிபொராங்ஶஸ்த: பாதுவ: [ஹி]-
7. நா கூநாவறுலாவறுல:॥ [உ\*] தத: [பு]-
8. கஸாகேவி தஷ் சொக-

## Second plate—First side

9. பாதுவெந்த கூதிரக [!\*]
10. பூண்டிப்பந்துபக்கிப்பெளாடுர்பாணாதா-  
ஶாகதவப்புப்பாய்வாதுபாகபெஜஷினி  
விஂஹவசித்தாயிவாக [ந]
11. ஹி விஂஹ விட்டாஜித்த விஂஹவிட்டா  
பூட்டுலநஜிட்டாது—நாநாவி
12. ஜிட்டாடு [!\*] மூஜி[ட்டா\*]  
வஂஸங்பூதியாகரி ஒன் ந திராகரின்தாவு-
13. பெருஷ பூண்டுநு॥ [ச\*]  
வதுதுராம விநிததாதி விதியா
14. யஷிநநாவூ வூதா பூநா  
கஷாதுமாணம் வூதாந்ததிதாவ
15. நெஷ்டுவூ [ஹ\*] தடு [!\*]  
யெநாஹாரிதாராகவோ தநயாஹ-
16. ராவிசொலாவநிஶாமெ யெக்ஷபவணா [ஓ\*]  
ஸாகாகு சீங்க-

## Second Plate—Second Side

17. ரதீராஶாவிவதெந்துவாலா [நு\*]  
ஹி வதுதீராதெநாலா யதிதீதெது

18. ஸ்ரீ நாநிலூவொ வழகனை அடைணசை நாடைணாராம  
 19. தெண்டு முட்சனி விஃ பூவு-அடைண்-  
     மணி மணீவாஜநி வஜ்யநாநி ॥ [கோ\*]  
 20. வொநாட்டுபொலெஸூ ஸபீணாஸபு தீவுயூ ० உபாதிபு  
 21. வசிமுங் பூவிலக்கவீலீபு[\*\*] ஜிதெநாந்து ஜெதெநாந்து, தீ-  
 22. நீந்து பூந்து பு-மிஜாவியா நாயதவொயநாய ॥ [ஏ\*]  
     க்து-நா-  
 23. தீரால-அது-நா-நா-நா-லயையைய் ॥ [\*]  
     பு-ஸபு-மா பு-ஸா-  
 24. இந்து ம-ந-ன வ-ந-வா-வ- [ஒ\*] ० வ-ந-ய- ॥ [ஏ\*]  
     வ-ந-வ-ஸ-ஸ-வ-ந-ந-ன-

*Third plate—First side*

25. தயிஷ்ணோயிஷ்ணோய- ॥ [\*] தீதெநாநாநா-நா-வி  
 26. செயாவீ பு-ஸவீபு கூ-தவா-நிலாபு ॥ [கோ\*]-  
 27. கொவிசைய வின்ஹவ-து-ற்கு யாண்டாருவது வென்  
 28. குன்றக் கொட்டததுப் பெருநகர நாட்டு நாட்டார்  
 29. காண்க [\*\*] தந் நாட் அமண் செர்க்கை பருத்தி  
 30. க்குன்றில் வஜ்யநாநிக்குரவர்க்குப் பள்ளிச் சந்தமா  
 31. கக் கொடுத்தொந் [\*\*] தாங்களும் படாகை நடந்து கல்  
 32. லுங் கள்ளியுந் நாட்டி அறையொலை செய்து கொ-

*Third plate—Second side*

33. டுத்து விடுதகவென்று நாட்டிர்க்குத் திருமுகம் விட  
     நாட்டா  
 34. ருந் திருமுகங்கண்டு தொழுது தலைக்கு வைத்து படா  
 35. கைநட[ந\*]து கல்லுங் கள்ளிய நாட்டி நாட்டார் விடுந்த  
 36. அறையொலைப்படிக்கெல்லை[\*\*] கீழபா  
 37. லெல்லை எந்த லெரியின்கீழூக் கடற்றி  
 38. ன் மெற்குமொமைக் கொல்லை எல்லை இன்னு  
 39. ம் தென்பாலெல்லை வெள்வடுகன் கெணியி  
 40. ன் வடக்கும் கடற்றினெல்லை இன்னுந் நீலபாடி

*Fourth plate—First side*

41. எல்லை இன்னும் விலாடன் குற்றெத்தத்தெல்லை
42. இன்னும் மெல்பாலெல்லை மாவெத்தத்து
43. வதியின் கிழக்கும் மும்மூலைந்தத்தெல்லை
44. இன்னு மாற்றெல்லை இன்னும் வடபாலெல்
45. லீ பெருங்கொல்லையின் ரெற்கு இன்னும்
46. பாண்டியன் கயத்தெல்லை இன்னும் முருக்கங்
47. கெணி எல்லை [/\*] இவ்விசைத்த பெருநான்கெல்
48. லீ யகத்து மகப்பட்ட நிலம் நீர் நிலமும்

*Fourth plate—Second side*

49. புஞ்செய்யும் களரும் கன்றுமெய்ப்பாழும் காடு
50. ம் பேடிவிகையும் கிடங்குங் கெணியும் மனை
51. யும் மனைப்படப்பும் உடும்பொடி ஆமை தவ
52. மூந்த தெல்லாம் உண்ணில ஞைழிவின்றி
53. கொவும் பொறியும் மாற்றி குடிநீக்கி இவ்லூர்
54. பெற்ற வஜ்ஞாநிக்குரவர்க்கெ பள்ளிச்சந்தமாக தா
55. மரிலும் பதினாறரைப்பட்டி நிலங் கொடுத்
56. தொம்[/\*] இந்நிலத்திற் கெல்லை கீழ்பாலை

*Fifth plate—First side*

57. ஸ்லை புவிகிழார்ப்பட்டியின் மெற்கும் தென்பா
58. லெல்லை மூள்ளௌறி பாத்தெல்லையின் வட
59. க்கும் மெல்பாலெல்லை பொக்குவாய்ச்செறு
60. வின் கிழக்கும் வடபாலெல்லை பல்லாங்கு
61. மூக்காவின் தெற்க்கும் இந்நான்கெல்லை
62. யகத்தும் அகப்பட்ட ஹ-உழியும் பருத்திக் குன்றி
63. ஸ் வஜ்ஞாநிக் குரவர்க்கெ பள்ளிச் சந்தமாக வாழ்.
64. தி சென்றது நாலயஞ்சைத்தியால் || வெ || —

**TRANSLATION**

(Verse 1). The great virtues of heaven (*Svargga*) and beatitude (*apa-vargga*) ..... Jinēndra one who is worshipped by the groups of.....the great sages and Indra of the gods (*Dēvēndra*).

(Verse 2). There was.....Ambujanābha (i.e. Vishṇu), Gīrvāṇeśa (i.e. Brahmā, the lord of Gīrvāṇī or Sarasvatī).....[Śam]yu<sup>126</sup> belonging to Bharadvāja, Drona.....being a part of the enemy of.....ra<sup>127</sup> (very likely Mura, thus indicating Mura-ripu i.e. Vishṇu), then Pallava, the illustrious.....the lord (*Vallabha*) of the Earth<sup>128</sup> and prowess (*vallabha*).

(Verse 3). These.....(for those afflicted) with sorrow,<sup>129</sup> (bringing) pleasure.....in order amongst the Pallavas.....was born king Simhavarman, whose feet were like a lotus which had blossomed, of a series of row of kings with the heat produced by the rays of the red-jewels adorning the heads, which mere engaged in bowing before him.

(Verse 4). The illustrious Simhavishṇu, who conquered (another) Simhavishṇu<sup>130</sup>, who was like Jishṇu (i.e. Arjuna) both in valour and archery, who adorned (by his person) the Bhrāji= (shṇu) family and who was capable of conquering the enemies in battles.

(Verse 5). He in whom the group of virtues (beginning with) truthfulness, sacrifice (*tyāga*), modest, (*vinītata*) has found an abode and in whom the quality of warriors (*kshātraguṇa*) has become very highly developed (to the extent) not found in anyone else, conquered the land of the Chōlas, which had as its garland the daughter of Kavēra, i.e., the river Kāvērī and as its waist-band (*mēkhalā*) the rice-fields, the rich fields of sugarcane, the groves of palm trees, plantains and the like.

(Verse 6). At the holy place (*dharma-tīrtha*) of the lord Śrī Vardhamāna (*Śrī Vardhamānēśvara*) was the Nandisamgha. In its horizon which was full of a horde of virtuous teachers (*gāṇaīśa*, literally, leaders of groups) possessing innumerable good qualities,

126. The name of Śamyu is filled from the genealogical information obtained from the other grants of the Pallavas.

127. The missing letter of the expression *ra-ripu* is possibly *Mu*. It may also be restored as *Tripura-ripu*.

128. The expression *Kshmā-vallabha* is synonymous with *Prithivī-vallabha*.

129. There is a pun of the word *asōka* here. It is possibly that there is here a reference to a king having the name of Aśokavarman who is mentioned as an ancestor in the family both in the *Vēlūrpālaiyam* plates (S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 510, verse 5) and the Vāyalūr pillar inscription (En. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 151).

130. This may also be taken as comparing him to god Narasimhavishṇu, not only in name but also in prowess. see p. 63 above,

there appeared *Vajranandi* well versed in all sacred literature and a teacher.

(Verse 7). The king gave away to the great ascetic ths entire village of Śramaṇāśrama (the hermitage of the Śramaṇas) after having separated and fixed its boundaries<sup>131</sup> for the purpose of worship of the groups of Jinēndras, Jainēndras and Munīndras.

(Verse 8). Here the executor (*ājñapti*) was the wise and fearless minister Narabhaya, who was the abode of qualities like forbearance.<sup>132</sup>

(Verse 9). This eulogy (*prāśasti*) was composed by Mēdhāvī who was immersed in all the sciences (*sāstras*) who was very respectable and who was like Dhishana (i.e., Brihaspati) in intelligence.

### *Tamil portion*

In the sixth year (of the reign) of King Vijaya Simhavarman (the king) having issued the royal order (*tirumugam*) (with the following words): "Let the assembly of the *nādu* (i.e. the *nāttār*) of the Perunagara-nādu, a sub-division of Venkuṇṭra-k-kōṭṭam observe. We have granted the village of Amaṇsērkkai in your *nādu* as *pallichchandam* to the teacher (*kuravar*) Vajra-Nandi of Paruttikkunril. (Accordingly) you also walk (around) the *padāgai*, plant stones and milk-bush (*kallி*) and issue the order for proclamation to the assembly of the *nādu* (*nāttār*).

And the members of the assembly of the *nādu* (*nāttār*) having seen the royal order, made obeisance and placed it on their heads, walked (around the boundaries of) the *padāgai*, planted stones and milk-bush, and issued the order for proclamation (*araiyōlai*) according to which the boundaries are (as follows): The eastern boundary is to the west of the jungle on the eastern side of the tank (known as) ēndal-ēri and also of the garden of tooth-brush tree (*ōmai*). Again the southern boundary is to the north of the well (belonging to) Vēl Vadugan and also of the jungle and of the boundary of (the village) Nilapādi, and of the small piccotah or water-lift (*kurr-ēttam*) of Vilādan (i.e. Virāṭan). Further the

131. This may also be taken as indicating that the entire village was separated from the territorial division *sīmā*; vide p. 69 above.

132. The poet seems to have punned on the words *Narabhaya* and *abhaya*, probably intended to indicate that though the minister was 'a terror to man' (*narabhaya*) in name yet he was a protector (*abhaya*) of men.

western boundary is to the east of the pathway (*vadi*) of the great water-lift or piccotah (*māvēttam*) and the boundary of water-lift at the three-corner (*mummūlai-ēttam*) and the limits (or boundary) of the river (*ārr-ellai*). Again the northern boundary is to the south of the great garden (*peruṇ-kollai*) and also of the boundary of the Pāṇḍiyān tank (*kayam*) and also of the garden of the *palā* (or white fig) trees (*murukkaṇ-kollai*).

All the land situated wthin the four great boundaries thus described inclusive of wet lands, dry lands, brackish land, i.e., saline soil (*kalar*), the waste land where the calves graze (grazing pasture) (*kanru-mēy-pūl*), forest, *pūdilikai*, ditches (*kidangu*), wells, houses, house-gardens (*manai-u-padappu*) and all land where iguana runs and tortoise crawls without excluding any land within the area (was given) after removing (the existing) tenants and changing the kingship and authority.

To the same teacher Vajranandi who received this village, we gave sixteen and a half *pattis* of land as *pallichchandam* in the vil-lage Tāmar (Dāmar). The boundaries to this land are: The eastern boundary is to the west of the (land known as) Pulikilār-patti, the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of Muṇ-leri pāttu; the western boundary is to the east of the (land known as) Pōkku-vāy-ch-cheruvu; and the northern boundary is to the south of the pallāṅkuli-kāvu (i.e., the park with the holes for playing the game known as *pallāṅkuli*). The land situate within four boundaries was given as *pallichchandam* to the same teacher Vajra-nandi of Paruttikkunril. This *paradatti* was made with the execu-torship of Narabhaya. Success.



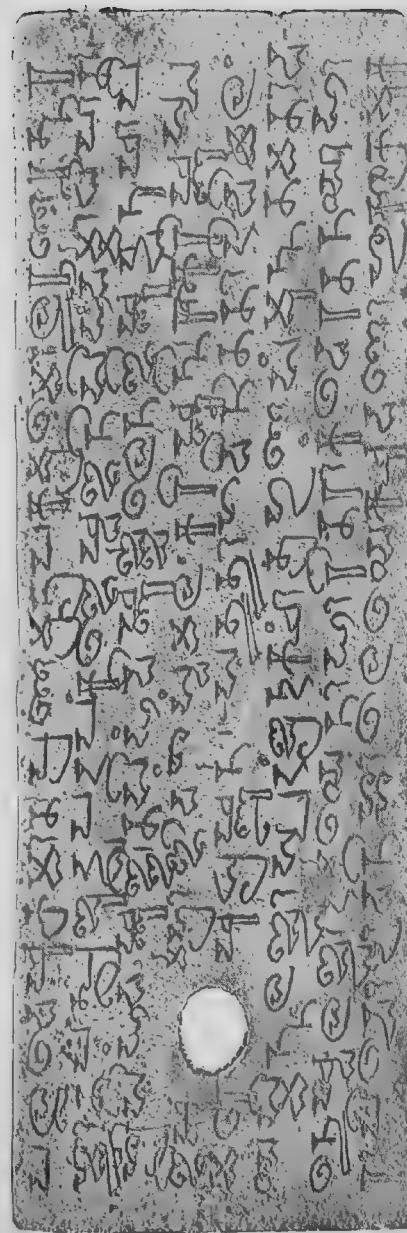
Scale : three-fourths

Fig. 1. Seal with bull etc.

The legend reads *Śrī Siṁhavarmamahā  
Pātraskhalitovitīm sāstramūlānasām* ||

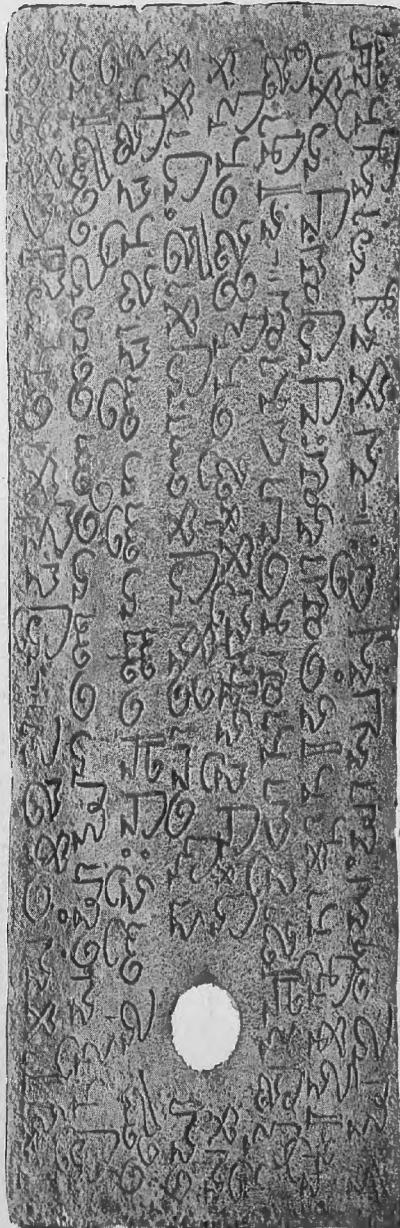
1st plate—2nd side : Lines 1 to 8

2nd plate—1st side : Lines 9 to 16

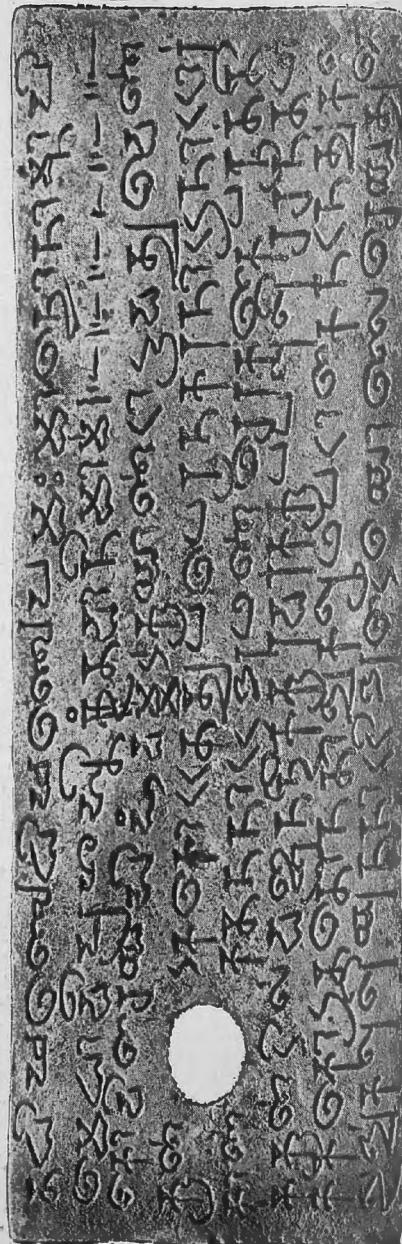


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2nd plate—2nd side : Lines 17 to 24

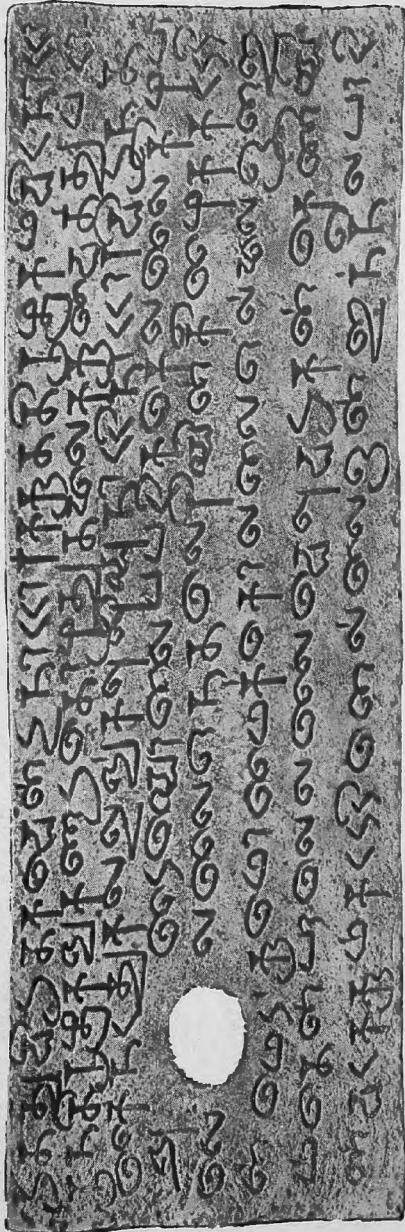


3rd plate—1st side : Lines 25 to 32

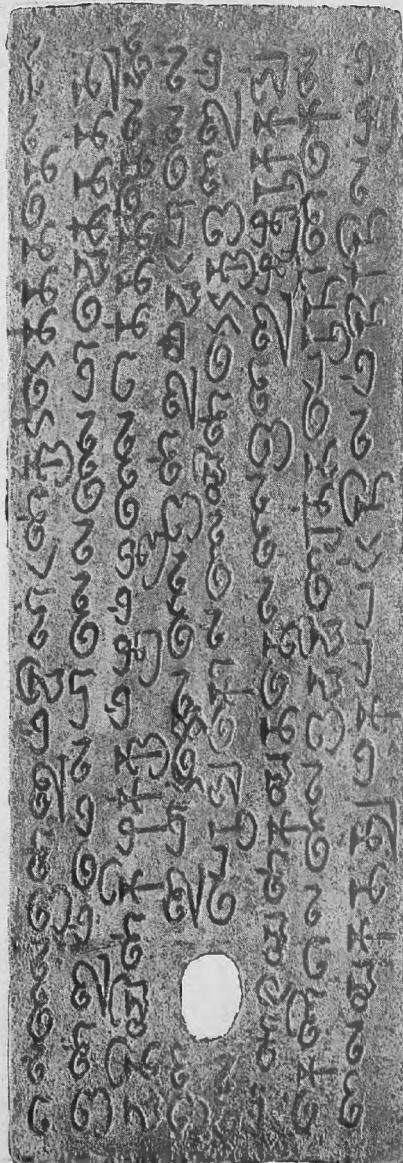


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3rd plate—2nd side : Lines 33 to 40

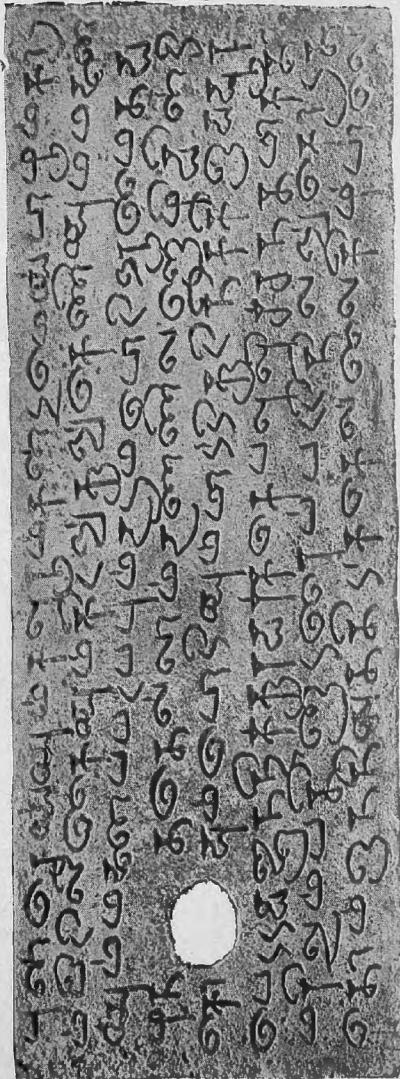


4th plate—1st side : Lines 41 to 48

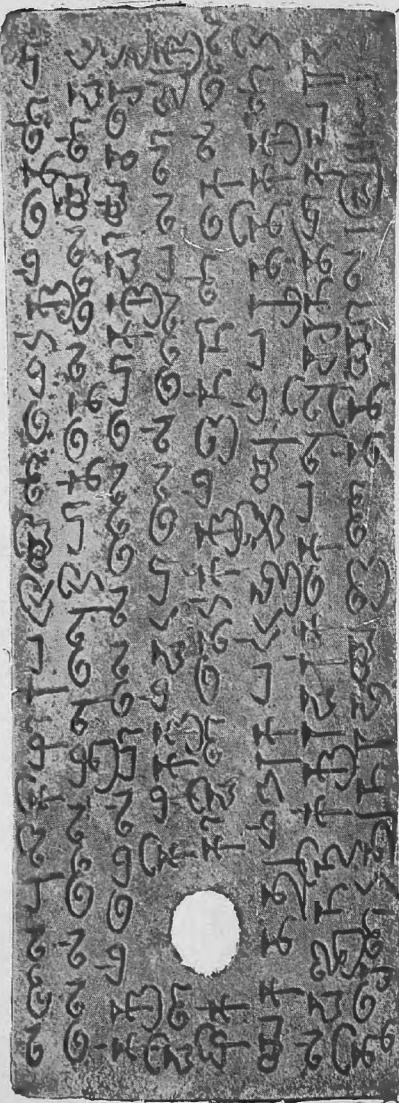


Scale : three-fifths

4th plate—2nd side : Lines 49 to 56



5th plate—1st side : Lines 57 to 64



Scale : three-fifths

